

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L PEKING 1776

EXDIS

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TAGS: OVIP (SCHLESINGER, JAMES) PFOR CH US TW

SUBJECT: SCHLESINGER TALKS WITH FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO

REF: (A) PEKING 1754, (B) PEKING 1761

1. BEGIN INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY. FORMER DEFENSE SECRETARY JAMES SCHLESINGER AND "SUBSTANTIVE" MEMBERS OF HIS PARTY (ACCOMPANYING PRESS AND USLO WERE NOT INVITED) TALKED WITH FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO KUAN-HUA ON THE AFTERNOONS OF SEPTEMBER 7 AND 8 FOR A TOTAL OF FOUR HOURS. A DELEGATION MEMBER PASSED US--IN STRICTEST CONFIDENCE--HIS RECOLLECTIONS OF MEETING HIGHLIGHTS. (WE DO NOT YET HAVE MINUTES OF EITHER MEETING. WE HAVE A TENTATIVE OFFER OF VERBATIM TRANSCRIPTS SUBJECT TO FINAL APPROVAL BY SCHLESINGER.) ON TAIWAN, CHIAO EXPOUNDED STANDARD, NONBELLICOSE LINE: U.S. MUST FULFILL ALL THREE CONDITIONS FOR NORMALIZATION; LIBERATION OF TAIWAN IS AN INTERNAL CHINESE MATTER; AND THE U.S. OWES A "DEBT" TO THE PRC REGARDING TAIWAN. CHIAO WARNED AGAINST THE DANGER OF A MUNICH-TYPE WESTERN SELLOUT TO THE SOVIET UNION; AFFIRMED THE LIKELIHOOD OF AN ENDURING SINO-SOVIET IDEOLOGICAL SPLIT; AND ADDED A CRYPTIC--AND NOVEL TO US--REFERENCE TO "SOME WESTERN LEADERS" WHO SEEK TO DIVERT SOVIET AGGRESSION TOWARDS THE EAST. CHIAO REITERATED PRINCIPLED CHINESE SUPPORT FOR NORTH KOREAN POSITION ON REUNIFICATION AND HE APPLAUDED THE SUCCESS OF U.S. DIPLOMACY IN THE MIDDLE EAST. AT THE CLOSE OF THE SECOND SESSION, CHIAO ANNOUNCED THAT THE GROUP WOULD MEET DEFENSE MINISTER AND PARTY

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VICE CHAIRMAN YEH CHIEH-YING ON SEPTEMBER 10, AND WOULD

HAVE A SESSION ON SEPTEMBER 11 WITH ANOTHER TOP LEADER (THE GROUP SPECULATES THAT THIS WILL BE PREMIER HUA KUO-FENG). END INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY.

2. ON SEPTEMBER 7 SCHLESINGER PARTY HELD THE FIRST OF TWO AFTERNOON SESSIONS WITH FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO. THE TWO-HOUR SESSION WAS LARGELY CONSUMED BY READING OF FORMAL PREPARED STATEMENTS BY THE TWO SIDES. CHIAO'S REMARKS WERE STANDARD FARE, SETTING FORTH THE CHINESE WORLDVIEW, INTRODUCING NO NEW THEMES, AND FAILING TO MENTION EVEN IN PASSING EITHER THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE OR TAIWAN.

3. THE SEPTEMBER 7 EVENING BANQUET HOSTED BY CHIAO (ADDRESSEES WILL HAVE SEEN NCNA COVERAGE) FOLLOWED THE PATTERN SET AT THE NOON WELCOMING BANQUET. CHIAO'S RECITATION OF FAMILIAR PRC POSITIONS IN HIS TOAST WAS LACED WITH THE USUAL METAPHORS. SCHLESINGER ADDRESSED THE POINTS AND THE METAPHORS ONE BY ONE. ("WE AGREE THAT THERE IS GREAT CHAOS UNDER HEAVEN, BUT WE DO NOT CONSIDER THE SITUATION EXCELLENT.")

4. FOLLOWING A MORNING VISIT BY ALL DELEGATION MEMBERS TO HOTBED OF RADICALISM TSINGHUA UNIVERSITY, WHERE THE GROUP HEARD THE CANNED BRIEFING ON TSINGHUA'S ROLE IN SPEARHEADING THE ANTI-TENG CAMPAIGN, THE DELEGATION DIVIDED INTO SUBSTANTIVE AND PRESS CONTINGENTS. THE LATTER TREKKED AROUND SUBURBAN COMMUNES, WHILE THE FORMER REASSEMBLED AT THE GREAT HALL TO CONTINUE THEIR DISCUSSIONS WITH CHIAO. AS DURING THE PREVIOUS AFTERNOON, THE PARTY WAS SEATED IN NEGOTIATING STYLE, FACING THEIR CHINESE HOSTS ACROSS A LONG TABLE, RATHER THAN IN THE USUAL "RELAXED" MODE: SEMICIRCULAR ARRANGEMENT OF OVERSTUFFED CHAIRS. CHIAO HAD PREPARED NOTES IN FRONT OF HIM, AND SEEMED TO REFER TO THEM FOR SPECIFIC LANGUAGE FROM TIME TO TIME. HIGHLIGHTS OF THAT TWO-HOUR SESSION FOLLOW.

5. TAIWAN. AFTER EMPHASIZING THAT CHINA SEES THE INTERNATIONAL ASPECT OF U.S.-PRC RELATIONS AS CENTRAL, CHIAO MOVED TO BILATERAL MATTERS AND RAISED THE TAIWAN ISSUE--"ALMOST PERFUNCTORILY" ACCORDING TO ONE DELEGATION MEMBER. --CHIAO DECLARED THAT THE U.S. MUST FULFILL ALL THREE COMPONENTS OF THE JAPANESE FORMULA AS A PRECONDITION FOR NORMALIZATION. CONFIDENTIAL

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--HE STRESSED THAT "LIBERATION" OF TAIWAN IS AN INTERNAL CHINESE MATTER, BUT DID NOT ELABORATE.

--HE INDICATED THAT THE U.S. "OWES CHINA A DEBT" ON THE TAIWAN ISSUE--HINTING THERE WAS A SPECIFIC COMMITMENT--AND MUST NOT "BACK AWAY" FROM THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE. TO THIS SCHLESINGER (WHO HAD MADE A PREFATORY DISCLAIMER OF ANY ABILITY OR INTENT TO SPEAK FOR THE USG) REPLIED THAT HIS PERSONAL UNDERSTANDING WAS THAT THE U.S. HAD COMMITTED ITSELF IN THE SHANGHAI

COMMUNIQUE TO A GRADUAL REDUCTION OF FORCES ON TAIWAN "AS TENSIONS IN THE AREA DIMINISHED" AND THAT THE U.S. HAD FULFILLED THIS COMMITMENT. CHIAO DID NOT CHALLENGE THIS.

6. PRC-USSR RELATIONS. CHIAO PRESENTED THE STANDARD HARD LINE ON THE SOVIETS: THE PRC WAS PREPARED FOR WAR, WILL ADOPT A STRATEGY OF LURING IN THE INVADERS AND "DROWNING THEM IN PEOPLE'S WAR", AND (QUOTING MAO) FORESEES TEN THOUSAND YEARS OF IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT WITH THE SOVIET UNION. HE ADDED THAT "WE MUST TRY TO IMPROVE OUR STATE-TO-STATE RELATIONS." WHEN THE INTERPRETER INCORRECTLY RENDERED THIS AS "WE MUST IMPROVE OUR STATE-TO-STATE RELATIONS," CHIAO CUT IN FORCEFULLY TO SET THE RECORD STRAIGHT. CHIAO WARNED ABOUT THE DANGER OF A MUNICH-TYPE SELLOUT TO MOSCOW, AND ALLUDED TO THE POSSIBILITY OF A WESTERN DUNQUERQUE. SCHLESINGER RIPOSTED THAT THE U.S. HAS MANY NUCLEAR WEAPONS, THE SOVIET UNION IS WELL AWARE OF THIS, AND THE KREMLIN LEADERS ARE UNLIKELY TO BE RASH. IN CLOSING, CHIAO REFERRED CRYPTICALLY TO "SOME WESTERN LEADERS WHO SEEK TO TURN THE FOCUS OF SOVIET AGGRESSION TO THE EAST." (COMMENT: IF ACCURATELY QUOTED, THIS LINE IS NEW TO US. OUR SOURCE INDICATED THAT THE ENTIRE U.S. SIDE TOOK THIS AS A BARB DIRECTED AT SECRETARY KISSINGER. SCHLESINGER IMMEDIATELY REBUTTED, DECLARING THAT HE WAS AWARE OF NO ONE IN THE WEST WHO HELD THAT POSITION.)

7. KOREA. CHIAO PASSED LIGHTLY OVER KOREA, MERELY REITERATING CHINESE PRINCIPLED SUPPORT FOR THE "VERY REASONABLE" NORTH KOREAN PROPOSALS FOR REUNIFICATION OF KOREA.

8. MIDDLE EAST. CHIAO TOOK CREDIT FOR SUGGESTING TO UNSPECIFIED U.S. LEADERS THAT WASHINGTON OUGHT TO ADOPT A MORE EVENHANDED APPROACH IN THE MIDDLE EAST, MAINTAINING TIES WITH ISRAEL WHILE SEEKING A NEW RELATIONSHIP WITH THE ARAB COUNTRIES. WHEN CHIAO COMMENTED APPROVINGLY ON THE SUCCESS OF THAT POLICY, SCHLESINGER

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OBSERVED THAT CHINA MIGHT ADOPT THE SAME POLICY WITH SIMILAR EFFECT. CHIAO DECLARED THAT "HISTORICAL CIRCUMSTANCES" MADE THAT OPTION IMPOSSIBLE FOR CHINA TO CONSIDER.

9. ADDITIONAL MEETINGS. AT THE CLOSE OF THE SEPTEMBER 8 SESSION, CHIAO ANNOUNCED THAT A SEPTEMBER 10 MEETING HAD BEEN ARRANGED WITH DEFENSE MINISTER AND PARTY VICE CHAIRMAN YEH CHIEN-YING. SEPTEMBER 11 HAS BEEN LEFT OPEN FOR A SESSION WITH "ANOTHER SENIOR OFFICIAL," WHO THE GROUP SPECULATES WILL BE PREMIER HUA KUO-FENG. SINCE THE CHINESE USUALLY ORCHESTRATE OFFICIAL VISITS SO AS TO SAVE THE HIGHEST RANKING LEADER UNTIL THE FINAL DAY, IT SEEMS PLAUSIBLE TO US THAT PREMIER HUA WILL INDEED MEET WITH THE GROUP.

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